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# UNION OR NOT?

BY

## AN ORANGEMAN.

*Why do the Heathen so furiously rage together?*
*And why do the People imagine a vain thing?*

PSALM 2. 1.

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# UNION OR NOT?

TWENTY-ONE different pamphlets have already been printed on the ſubject of an Union; I have read them all without being ſatisfied, moſt of them without being convinced:—let this be my excuſe for writing.

If ever a topic fell under public diſcuſſion which demanded cool and deliberate argument, which ſhould be moſt carefully protected from the obtruſions of Frenzy and Folly, it is this great queſtion of Union:—Frenzy has intruded;—perhaps on reading what

what I ſhall write, Folly may be ſuppoſed to put in her claim.—It is not with the extatic oaths of a bedlamite barriſter, who dares to array his Creator as a party in political debate; nor yet by the ſimple abſurdity of him, who proves that a thing injurious to the majority is uſeful to all, that ſuch a queſtion ſhould be inveſtigated. Neither ſhould the good or evil of the queſtion depend upon the partial effects which an Union may be expected to produce in partial circumſtances. It is not whether Dublin or Derry, Belfaſt or Cork, ſhall be injured or benefited—diminiſhed or increaſed; whether the Bar ſhall be profited, or the Clergy aggrandized;—but whether the whole iſland, perhaps we ſhould ſay the whole empire, will be likely to find it a meaſure of advantage,—that it becomes the wiſe politician to conſider.

It is Swift I believe, who remarks of his countrymen, that they " uſually form an " opinion of every matter, long before they " know what the matter is in itſelf :"—In no inſtance has his ſagacity been better evinced than in the diſcuſſion of this queſtion. To ſay that an Union is bad, before we know its terms, is to ſay that no Union can be good. This is rather an haſty judgment :—for let us ſuppoſe in the way of argument, that an Union were propoſed, by which the ſeat of Imperial Government, were to be transferred from London to Dublin, and by which this city were to become the Royal reſidence, the rendezvous of the Britiſh Parliament, &c. &c, would there be a man in ſociety who could declare ſuch an Union diſadvantageous to Ireland ?

How many gradations then of Union are there between this of which we have ſpoken, (which would unqueſtionably be of incal-

culable

culable advantage) and a degrading ſubjection to Great Britain, which would ſtrip us at once of all privilege and conſequence? How many ſteps muſt there be from this undeniable good, to that which would be flagrantly ruinous? How many of the intermediate plans in this deſcent, muſt be advantageous, how many of a mixed nature, before we arrive at abſolute injury? This I conceive to be a ſufficient argument againſt any intemperate condemnation of the project, until we know the principles upon which it is to be founded.

May it be hoped that this unfortunate country is at length arrived at that waking hour, when the viſions of theory are no longer alluring; that our ſad experience has taught us the lamentable folly of ſpeculation, and the wicked abſurdity of political dreamers, who, to realize an idle fancy decked with gay conceits and gaudy metaphors, would

would plunge, as they have before done, this iſland into blood, for the horrible experiment of obſerving her agonies.

If that time be come, if the mere queſtion of Union be not on the face of it an outrage againſt reaſon, and if a plain man may ſtate a few plain arguments, then may I hope to find a few readers, even though I venture ſo late into the diſcuſſion.

Men are fond of talking of their own motives; mine are few and ſimple. By the title-page I avow myſelf an *Orangeman*; thoſe who know the honorable principles of that aſſociation, will not ſuſpect me of hoſtility to my King, my Country, or any Claſs of my Fellow-ſubjects; but while I avow my goodwill to all, my affection to Proteſtants, and amongſt Proteſtants to Orangemen in particular, is ardent and ſincere.

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The enemies of our aſſociation have of late moſt anxiouſly ſought to engage us in this controverſy ; their anxiety was enough to render us ſuſpicious ; but when it appeared that this anxiety was directed towards the project of arraying us againſt a ſuppoſed meaſure of the King's Government, it proved their malevolence.

A *late* meaſure, (I need not mention it publicly,) has rendered this malevolence abortive ; and ſo fairly has the ſubject been left to diſcuſſion, that amongſt the deareſt friends, we have witneſſed the moſt decided diverſity of opinion on this political ſubject, without the ſlighteſt tincture of unkindneſs.

Not to delay too long from the main queſtion, let me be merely underſtood to ſpeak the ſentiments of an individual, however I may chuſe to deſignate myſelf by a general

general deſcription, as one of a ſociety of which it is my pride to be a member.

The Lawyers have called this Union an innovation, and a large majority of them have declared againſt it *at this time*;—by this we are to ſuppoſe that they admit it may be a good thing at another time.

This admiſſion ſeems to grant every thing as to the principle of an Union, for the objection of time is one which always occurs; if the country be diſturbed, it is alleged to be miſchievous to urge any momentous meaſure,—if it is quiet, it is equally dangerous to diſturb its tranquility; ſo that in fact, the objection of time is like the procraſtinating diſpoſition of a man who brings himſelf to think that every thing may be better done to-morrow than to-day, when it is by indolence, and an averſion to trouble that he is really actuated.

But this objection will not weigh with the wiſe and honeſt paſtor, who finds the diſeaſed prodigal on his bed of ſickneſs, worn out with frantic debauchery,—he will then tell him, that the ſeaſon of pain is the ſeaſon of reformation,—that the afflictions with which he has been viſited ſhould excite him to an alteration of his conduct,—and that in the calamities enſuing from his errors, he ſhould ſee the neceſſity of avoiding thoſe errors in future: ſuch would be the doctrine of the pious teacher, and thus might he ſnatch from deſtruction the recovered penitent.

Has not Ireland had her ſeaſon of calamity? Have not her calamities ariſen within herſelf—ſhall we add—from her own miſconduct? And is not this the moment when an alteration of conduct ſhould be determined upon?

Shall

Shall we look to Wexford, to Roſs, Kildare, and the long catalogue of promiſcuous carnage, to ſpecify our calamities,—to the ſtreets of Dublin black with mournings, for fathers, huſbands, children, and friends, the victims of the moſt bloody rebellion that ever diſgraced human nature?—No, every man feels in his own circle, ſomething to deplore; the icy hand of Horror has been laid upon us all, and we ſtill ſhudder at the dreadful recollection.

Whence have theſe calamities ariſen? On one ſide you will be told, from the refuſal of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform—from diviſions upon abſtract terms!!—Look a little farther, and you will perceive the very original agitators of theſe queſtions, confeſſing and avowing that their object was a Separation from England.—And why? Becauſe, either they deſired a connection with France, or an opportunity of

putting

putting into effect, the new principles of that country. To realiſe theſe theories, forty thouſand lives have been loſt, our faireſt diſtricts have become uninhabitable deſerts, and the country has received a ſhock which for many years it will not recover.

All this from the indulgence of political ſpeculation, from a deſire to new mould and faſhion our Parliament, and turn our Conſtitution into every ſtrange ſhape into which a few fanciful men wiſhed to have it tortured.

To effect this deſign, its projectors, about ſeven years ago, began to conſider whom they might employ as the under labourers of their project; they pitched upon the Iriſh Papiſts; and no ſmall pains were taken to perſuade that claſs of people; whoſe prejudices againſt Proteſtants, carefully nurſed by their prieſts, had moſt obſti-

nately

nately held out againſt all the increaſing kindneſs of forty years; that they were grievouſly oppreſſed by the Proteſtants, and that they (the projectors) were their only friends.

The good-natured Proteſtants, upon their requeſt, granted them ſome privileges, of which their former miſconduct had deprived them; this emboldened the Papiſts,—and inſtead of requeſts, demands were made.

Let not the reader be alarmed, the hiſtory of Ireland for that period, is too complex and tedious to be detailed by me; it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that from this beginning came all our misfortunes; that the politics of Ireland for that period, have been of every motley colour and complexion: our Parliament refuſing with indignation, and admitting with ſervility, the increaſing demands of Popery,—enacting ſtrong laws approving

approving weak meaſures, applauding a Proteſtant, and courting a Popiſh Lord Lieutenant—in ſhort,

"Every thing by fits, and nothing long."

And this, while one regular, ſteady, and conſiſtent Adminiſtration has directed the helm of Great Britain, till ſhe has attained a ſituation, which makes her the dread and envy of all the world.

The Conſtitution of Ireland is the ſame as that of Great Britain, one eſtate of Parliament is the ſame; where then are we to look for this diverſity of conduct, but in ſome error in the adminiſtration of the two other eſtates of the Legiſlature?

That error is ſuppoſed to exiſt in their being diſtinct from, and not connected with the two ſimilar eſtates in Great Britain. It is truly ſaid, that as long as the King of both countries

countries reſides in Great Britain, his adviſers for the government of both kingdoms muſt be the ſame perſons: the Conſtitution ſuppoſes the King to be adviſed by his Miniſters, and it is impoſſible for us to conceive that his real adviſers, immediately near his perſon, ſhall not have more weight with him, than his nominal adviſers, who live in Ireland, and probably never have an audience above once in a twelvemonth.

It is alſo pretty well known, that the King's Miniſters are uſually nominated by the prevailing party in the Britiſh Parliament; it was ſo in the caſe of the late Lord Chatham and the preſent Mr. Fox, who were both appointed Miniſters, though perſonally diſliked by their Sovereign. Thus then nothing is plainer, (without any imputation of corruption or intrigue) than that the King, under the preſent ſyſtem, is adviſed by the ſervants of a Parliament excluſively Britiſh.

This

This Miniſter is then ſuppoſed to act for the advantage of his own excluſive country, he adviſes the appointment of ſuch Lord Lieutenant, as ſhall be moſt uſeful for his purpoſes, and by that Lord Lieutenant, the affairs of Ireland are conducted,—by the Servant of the Servant of the Britiſh Parliament. Let us not impute ill motives to any men; but let us look at the Iriſh Parliament for the laſt twenty years, and we ſhall find, that though Lord Lieutenants have varied, Parliament has never varied in its approbation of every one of them.

Suppoſe it were otherwiſe, what would be the conſequence, the Britiſh and Iriſh Parliaments diſagree;—where is their Umpire? the Crown cannot interfere, the Crown is indeed bound to conſult the good of the empire; but I know not any power, with which it is inveſted to decide the diſputes of independent Legiſlatures.

In

In the year 1782, our gallant Volunteers enforced the claim of our Legiſlature to independence, by their ſervices to the empire as much as by their remonſtrances in arms; but are we to reſort always to a military deciſion of our concerns with our fellow-ſubjects? muſt we wage our battle upon every point of political controverſy?

Two men, the neareſt and beſt friends, ſons of the ſame parents, will not always perfectly agree in ſentiment;—how then can two Legiſlatures, compoſed of many men, be expected always to coincide? Indeed the obedience of our Legiſlature has been accounted for, but in a way ſo odious, that it ſhould not be our wiſh to continue its conſiſtency at ſo dear a price.

But ſay the democrats, all this argument applies to Separation as well as to Union, if our preſent ſtate be bad, let us renounce

the connection altogether, rather than, &c. then follows uſually a good deal of rant about independence and imperial dignity, which I look upon to be pretty nearly as good argument, as the ravings of a maniac for his ſtraw coronet and wooden ſceptre.

To anſwer the main objection, that the argument goes to a Separation, let us turn to the confeſſion of one of the moſt ſagacious traitors who ever dreamed of that project:—he confeſſes that for many years this country muſt be crippled by England; that is to ſay, that if we ſeparated from Great Britain in an hoſtile way, we could not ſend fiſhing boat out of our harbours to catch a herring for our food: ſuch an admiſſion, qualified indeed by Mr. Emmet, with the probable ruin of Great Britain at the ſame time, affords us no great comfort; ſociety in affliction may ſerve to alleviate miſery, but who would plunge into ruin for the diabolical

diabolical pleaſure of ſeeing another ſuffer in company ?

But look at the map of Europe, ſee our northern, eaſtern, and ſouthern coaſt geographically ſurrounded by Great Britain ; compare the relative magnitude of the iſlands ; examine then their relative ſtrength, and ſee whether they are not naturally deſigned for connection ; whether ſeparation, and the poſſible conſequence of hoſtility, would not ſubject and deſtroy at leaſt the ſmaller, if in the fulfilment of Mr. Emmet's malignant hope, it did not plunge both into one common ruin.

Theſe are external arguments againſt ſeparation ; how many internal motives does our ſituation offer, for the neareſt poſſible connexion !—I ſay our, for now I conſider the queſtion as an Orangeman—a loyal Iriſh Proteſtant.

Six

Six hundred years have now gone by, ſince the firſt intimate connexion grew between England and Ireland. For the firſt three hundred years, the anceſtors of many of us ſuſtained a kind of colonial uſurpation againſt the Iriſh natives. Arts, cultivation, and induſtry were introduced by the Engliſh; the ſettled property of land, and the dwelling together in towns, perhaps as much from neceſſity as choice, all theſe circumſtances diſtinguiſhed them from the Iriſh.

It is now too late to queſtion the title of our forefathers, we may therefore admit that the Iriſh reaſonably conſidered them as uſurpers; add to this the rude and indolent habits of the natives, the unſettled tenure of property, which was ſubject to daily partition, and their roving mode of life, and we ſhall not be ſurpriſed at their anioſitmy againſt the Engliſh:—the *Caſhnawaga* is not at this day the friend of the American ſettler.

The

The Reformation in ſome degree changed the direction of this animoſity, but did not abate its fury; the ignorance of the lower Iriſh retained them under the dominion of their prieſts, the Engliſh on the contrary became, generally ſpeaking, Proteſtants,—and although ſome of the Engliſh deſcendants continued Papiſts, and a few of the Iriſh became Proteſtants, yet the diſtinction of Iriſh and Engliſh reſolved itſelf gradually into that of Papiſt and Proteſtant; while the rancour of the former, whetted anew by ſuperſtition and bigotry, raged as violently as before.

Hence did it happen, that the ſame hoſtile diſpoſition towards England, which in Edward the Second's reign, urged them to call upon Edward Bruce to be their King, invited ſucceſſively, the King of Spain, the Pope, James the Second, and the French Directory, to rend aſunder the connection between the two iſlands; ſeparation from England, and

not

not a diſlike of foreign connection, was the motive of all theſe wars, the ſpring of all the maſſacres which have ſtained this country, from the bridge of Portadown to the ſtrands of Wexford.

In the ſame proportion as they have ſought this ſeparation, have they proved their hatred of their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. A pregnant inſtance of that hatred, ſaved this country laſt ſummer: the northern Diſſenters, whom ſpeculating demagogues had talked into rebellion, and wheedled into an alliance with the Papiſts, when they found that the old perſecuting ſpirit of their new aſſociates burſt forth inſtantly, on their acquiſition of power,—when they heard of the cruel maſſacres of Wexford and Enniſcorthy, where rebellion for a ſhort time was triumphant, they became affrighted at their own miſconduct, they awoke from their dreams of Reform and Separation, and each man, ſhocked

at

at the atrocities of his allies, or fearing for himſelf, the inſurgents of Ulſter liſtened to the voice of Truth and Reaſon, and quietly returned to their looms and their ſenſes.

The cant of liberality had been employed to rouſe theſe men into arms, conſiderations of perſonal ſafety induced them to return to peace.

Setting aſide then all declamation, which is only a comment upon the cant of the day, let us ſincerely aſk ourſelves as Proteſtants, could it be poſſible for us to exiſt in this iſland ſeparate from Great Britain? is the ferocious ſpirit of intolerant Popery ſo tamed, or ſo likely to become tame, as to ſuffer our exiſtence upon any terms, when Popery ſhall be predominant? and aſſuredly, ſeparate from Great Britain, the Proteſtants of Ireland would at leaſt be outnumbered two to one, by their implacable enemies.

This

This then is my argument: geographically, a ſeparation ought not to be; politically, it cannot be without ruin to Ireland at leaſt; and practically, for the Proteſtant intereſt I hope it may never be. So that the arguments drawn from our preſent ſituation, apply to an Union, and not to that which ought not or cannot take place,—a Separation.

Having looked at our preſent ſituation in theory, let us ſee what it is in practice.

The nature of a free Government always requires party in the ſtate. Britiſh parties, as they are immediately in the ſeat of Empire, muſt buſy themſelves about imperial concerns; all this is proper, and ſerves to check the Miniſter; but the miſery of it is, that we have in this country, minor branches of the ſame parties, and not having imperial concerns to meddle with, the whole force

of

of Britiſh faction, is, by proxy, directed in our Parliament, againſt the internal government of the country, and what Mr. Fox uſed to utter at Weſtminſter, his telegraph, Mr. Grattan, was always found to exactly copy, however inappoſite or miſchievous to Ireland.

To counteract this evil, the Britiſh Miniſter ſends over various Governors, as he finds the confuſion increaſing in this country, at one time we have Lord Weſtmorland encouraging and ſupporting the Proteſtant intereſt,—at another, Lord Fitzwilliam with Mr. Grattan exalting the Papiſts; then again, Lord Camden ſupporting the Conſtitution, and Mr. Grattan in a rage, ſetting the Houſe on fire becauſe he is turned out; and laſtly we have had Lord Cornwallis, with an head full of his own opinions, attempting to govern all the complicated intereſts of the country, without enquiring into one of

 them,

them, diſcouraging and diſarming the Proteſtant Yeomanry who have ſaved Ireland, affronting the firſt men in the land for acquitting a Proteſtant Yeoman, accuſed by a perjured rebel; and at the ſame time ſending an avowed traitor, Mr. Sampſon, into exile—exile! to Liſbon,—and another, (Mr. Garret Byrne) who has laid waſte the whole county of Wicklow, burned the Proteſtant village of Hacketſtown to the ground, and maſſacred every Proteſtant, man, woman, and child whom he found in the conntry, to reſide at Stowe, in Buckinghamſhire, the Paradiſe of England, the retreat of the patriot Cobham. Will any one ſay that theſe things would have happened, were there one Iriſh Legiſlator to ſtand up at Weſtminſter, and tell theſe things to the people of England. It has been ſaid, and idly ſaid, that the people of England are indifferent about the Proteſtant intereſt; it is not ſo; the terrible convulſions of 1780, prove that their apprehenſions

henſions on that ground are even too acute; and ſurely the Imperial Parliament would not tamely ſuffer the diſcouragement of that intereſt in Ireland, it would not leave thoſe who had ſhed their blood, and loſt their deareſt friends, their properties and their homes, in defence of the connection with Great Britain, to ſit down in comfortleſs poverty, to compare their lot with that of rebels, and to be forced to acknowledge that treaſon had the advantage.

It will be ſaid that our own Legiſlature will be equally alive to the misfortunes of the Loyaliſts. Alas, I fear not; in the very ſame Houſe of Commons, which, with certainly no great degree of enthuſiaſm, granted a ſcanty pittance to ſave the Loyaliſts from famine, we have heard a propoſal gravely made and ſeriouſly attended to, even during the rage and fury of rebellion, for rebuilding the houſes of Rebels, which had been

deſtroyed

deſtroyed in the conteſt excited by their own reſtleſs malignity.

It is indecent as well as unkind, to ſpeak harſhly of any number of men; but Legiſlators are but men, and their conduct is to be accounted for by the hiſtory of the laſt ten years. Who can be ſure that Lord Fitzwilliam may not ſoon return, with full powers for his friends; the Proteſtants are already faithful, no diſcouragement can pervert them, they cannot, if they would, be traitors; kindneſs may attach the rebel, he may be won from his treaſons, and if a little indulgence in his preſent irregularities, may ſecure the friendſhip of one who may hereafter be your maſter, every wiſe man will wink at his follies. Such may be the reaſoning of an Iriſh Senator, in Dublin, ſuch could not be his motive at Weſtminſter.

I find

I find I have got deeper into this diſcuſſion than I intended; but if, from what I have ſaid, that which I firmly believe is proved, that it is the intereſt of the Proteſtants to have an Union, in preference to the preſent ſyſtem, my labour is not thrown away.

Looking on the Proteſtants as the nation, as they are the Legiſlative Body, and conſidering their advantage from an Union as certain, let us examine one or two objections.

The firſt and moſt formidable certainly is, that by an Union the number of Abſentees would be encreaſed; but this I think, will not happen. We have very few abſentees at preſent, who have ſeats in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and thoſe few repreſent boroughs; and the reaſon is obvious: to carry an election for a county or great town, a man *muſt* be a reſident, he muſt be a man well known, he muſt have property in the diſtrict,

diſtrict, and he muſt be always active to ſecure his election, or he will be turned out by ſome more active reſident:---it is underſtood that, of the hundred members who are intended to form a part of the Imperial Legiſlature, none will repreſent boroughs; ſo that none will be returned but perſons whom neceſſity will make reſidents, except during the ſeſſions of Parliament,---and during that time, they are now as much abſentees in Dublin from the places they repreſent, as they would be at Weſtminſter. Almoſt the ſame might be ſaid of the portion of Peers returned to Parliament:---the electing Peers will, at leaſt the majority of them, reſide at home, and their Repreſentatives will probably find it their intereſt to cultivate their electors, in the ſame way as the Commoners.

It is ſaid that Dublin will be injured:---I ſhould ſuppoſe not, and I am diſintereſted in the ſuppoſition, for all the property I have

or

or hope to have, is in houſes in this city. It appears to me that Dublin will ſuffer no loſs, except that of hearing Parliamentary debates, and being agitated by perpetual factions: Edinburgh, with fewer advantages, has abſolutely doubled in extent, and in elegance encreaſed thirty fold from the Union;---and though it is argued, in oppoſition to this, that other cities of Europe have encreaſed in the ſame proportion in that time, yet the fact is, that not even London has, in the ſame time, made proportionate advances to improvement: Dublin, as a ſea-port, nearly in the centre of Ireland, with all the advantages of inland navigation and maritime intercourſe, muſt ever enjoy a great portion of the commerce of Ireland; as the point moſt convenient to Great Britain, Dublin muſt be always a port of conſiderable paſſage between the countries; and as the Seat of internal Government, the Courts of

Juſtice,

Juſtice, &c. &c. muſt always have a beneficial intercourſe with the reſt of Ireland.

Nothing could be more obvious than that the Bar would oppoſe the meaſure; like the ſilver-ſmiths of Epheſus, they would naturally cry out---"for by this craft they live,"---but in the ſame proportion that they declare againſt the meaſure, inſomuch muſt it be of advantage, for excluding from the Legiſlature, men who are accuſtomed to ſpeak and argue, without feeling any conviction upon the ſubject, and acting only from the ſordid conſideration of their hire, is ſurely one ſtep towards the purity of Parliament.

For inſtance,---the Evening Poſt reports, that one Counſellor Plunket ſpoke violently at the Bar Meeting againſt an Union.---I am not acquainted with the young man, but as it ſeems to me to be a caſe in point, I will

will make free with his name: he is, I hear, a promiſing young Barriſter, who had made ſome progreſs in his profeſſion, until he was recommended to the electors of the borough Charlemont, by the Earl of C———, and by them choſen to ſit in Parliament; now, in *downright* gratitude, he will do exactly as the Earl of C——— directs him, and being a Lawyer, he will readily bring his mind to think as his patron does, ſo that in fact, he is but the noble Earl's proxy in the Houſe of Commons;---would it not be better for this country, to have an unlearned country gentleman in his place, who would have an opinion of his own.

It is alſo ſaid, that the thirty-two Barriſters who ſupported the Union, were the aſſiſtant Barriſters of the thirty-two counties; now this ſeems to be an argument of their being the only diſintereſted parties

preſent, for by Law the Aſſiſtant Barriſters are incapable of ſitting in Parliament, while all the majority have a capacity of being elected, of which they will be deprived by an Union.

But the oppoſers of the Union will ſay, the intereſts of the two iſlands are diſtinct, and ſometimes contrary; ſhould our Parliament be merged in that of Great Britain, the Britiſh Repreſentatives will be always able to overbear by their numbers, the intereſts of Ireland."

What is this but urging the diſeaſe as a reaſon for not taking the remedy: the miſchief now exiſting is, that the intereſts of the two countries *are* diſtinct and contrary; but by an Union, it is deſigned to conſolidate and incorporate them. Suppoſe the Imperial Legiſlatures to be the ſame, the intereſts of Ireland returning one hundred Members,

Members, would be no more unequally ſupported againſt thoſe of Great Britain, than thoſe of Middleſex returning eight Members now, are againſt the intereſts of Cornwall which returns forty-four,—and for this reaſon, that the intereſts of the two countries would, by the Union, be as much identified as thoſe of Cornwall and Middleſex.

The only diverſity of intereſts which can remain, would be one for the advantage of Ireland, and it will be found in rating the proportion of taxes: ſuch has been the advantage derived by Scotland from the Union, that while Ireland furniſhed a million yearly of taxes, Scotland has paid but £.700,000; becauſe, by the treaty of Union, Scotland never can be charged at an higher rate than (I think) one fortieth of the taxation of England. The advantage to Ireland will be, that her proportion of taxes will be rated, at a time when England is

taxed

taxed perhaps at her higheſt, and Ireland is but very moderately burdened; ſo that taking it at the ſcale of the preſent day, Ireland never may be liable to pay, (however well her Repreſentatives may be diſpoſed to tax her), more than about one-twentieth of the annual taxation of the Empire.

National Pride oppoſes the Union—National Pride might be induced to ſupport it, when it is recollected that ſince the Scotch Union, many of the firſt Miniſters of the Empire have been taken from Scotland:—Stair, Argyle, Mansfield, Stormont, Dundas, have filled Seats in the Cabinet, and directed the concerns of the Empire,—and why?—becauſe their talents, diſplayed in the Imperial Parliament, on Imperial ſubjects, have advanced them to ſituations, to which even greater talents in a local Legiſlature, could not have aſpired; and is not this a theatre for national pride to emulate? is not

Iriſh

Iriſh genius equal to the taſk of Imperial Government ?—the names of Burke, Sheridan, Barre, all anſwer the queſtion ; where would we have heard of them had they remained at home to wrangle in the little infantine ſquabbles of a local Legiſlature ?—would Grattan have been known in the hiſtory of Europe, but for his *converſations* with Nelſon and Hughes.

Of the numerous treatiſes written againſt an Union, I am pleaſed to ſee, that by far the greater proportion are avowed by Barriſters, and that if we may believe report, very few of the remainder have been written out of the pale of the Four Courts : I am glad I ſay, becauſe the public ſentiment on their obvious intereſt, had anticipated the Lawyers' attack ; it was eaſy to gueſs that when ſixty-three, more than one-fifth of our Houſe of Commons, were Barriſters, that there muſt have been, (without counting

*expectants*)

*expectants*) at leaſt ſo many enemies to the removal of the Legiſlature to any diſtance from the Four Courts. But the intemperance with which ſome of theſe Gentlemen have written, was not to be expected from men of their information and rank in life; it is too much in the ſtrain of that practice which has ſo much injured Ireland,—the practice of exciting popular outcry, and affixing popular odium upon thoſe who dare to oppoſe the wiſhes or the intereſts of the Demagogue.—It is of the ſame complexion with that ſyſtem which *hallooed* Caſtle-hack and Informer againſt every man who dared to oppoſe the progreſs of treaſon by argument, or to reveal its practices by evidence: yet in what ſtate would this country have been, but for the vigorous ſagacity of Duigenan, or the conſcientious repentance of Reynolds.

I have

I have ſaid, and I believe ſincerely, that it is the wiſh of the enemies of the Orangemen, to urge them forward to an oppoſition of this meaſure of an Union; and I renew my entreaties, that my Brethren will balance the queſtion fairly, and examine well their own motives, before they plunge into ſuch conduct; for my part it would be ſufficient for me to ſee the part taken by a Democrat to decide me to act in direct oppoſition; the chances that I would be right, would almoſt outweigh my own conviction to the contrary.

Obſerve what their conduct has been: Three ſeveral meetings have been held by the Roman Catholics, and not a ſingle deciſion yet made, until they ſhall ſee the part we may take, and by throwing themſelves into the oppoſite ſcale, overbear us by their numbers,---let us diſappoint them.

One of their body affecting to ſupport an Union, has publiſhed a work filled with the groſſeſt and moſt unqualified calumnies againſt the Orange inſtitution :---Let us not be urged by this attack, to oppoſe even the Government which ſuſtains and patroniſes the Author of that book. It took a lapſe of one hundred and thirty years, before an Author could be found (the Roman Catholic Dr. Currie) to deny the Popiſh rebellion and maſſacres of 1641,---thoſe of 1798 have been denied within four months after their exiſtence by Dr. Mc Kenna. Five and twenty Popiſh Prieſts (by his own admiſſion*) marching at the head of a Popiſh army, form no proof that that the Papiſts were concerned in the rebellion; we might admit what he has aſſerted, had a ſingle Proteſtant Clergyman been found in the ſlighteſt degree connected with the horrors of laſt Summer.

Perhaps

Perhaps this is not the plan or the time to diſcuſs this queſtion; I only ſpeak of it, in order to give due eſtimation to Mr. Mc Kenna's aſſertions with reſpect to Orangemen; it would require more time, more patience, perhaps more temper than the preſent times allow; it would require the agonizing recollection of the laſt ſix months to be recalled to view, it would require the volumes of evidence on the ſubject ſuppreſſed by Authority, and it would require a leiſure and ability which are equally out of my reach and expectation.

On the ſubject of an Union, I have given my opinion. Obſcnre as I am, it is of little concern to me, what motives may be attributed, or what credit given to my arguments; they are a weight taken off my own mind, in being thus laid before the Public: if they are juſt as they are candid, I hope they may have

weight ; if they are inconclusive and dangerous, I trust they will meet with the neglect they deserve.

AN ORANGEMAN.

FINIS.